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Review of *Media and the Path to Peace*, by Gadi Wolfsfeld

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discipline, and their governments were motivated by the financial benefits to be reaped from peacekeeping. This does not apply to the Canadians in Somalia, but it certainly applies to the Bulgarians in Cambodia. With respect to the former, racism was the problem, and for that, Whitworth's gender analysis is less helpful in elucidating its roots among Canada's soldiers. The gender approach does provide one critical lens through which to analyze the variety of problems in the UN operation, including the misconduct of the Bulgarians. One might wish, however, for more systematic gender analysis of the units that had the most problems and why, as well as more context for criticisms of other issues, such as the handling of refugees and the UN's effects on the local economy. And one should definitely ask what Cambodia would have been like without the UN operation, despite the latter's shortcomings. One should also note that in 1991, the UN lacked experience in mounting such a large, multifaceted operation in a short period.

Examining UN responses through gender mainstreaming, Whitworth notes that inserting gender concerns, including Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), has increased emphasis on effectiveness, not on tough questions arising from the "radical political potential" of gender (pp. 120–21). In this, she reveals her desire for fundamental rethinking of UN peacekeeping as an institution. Likewise, in a richly documented chapter on "Militarized Masculinities," she examines the particular form of idealized masculinity that is inculcated into soldiers, both men and women, in modern state militaries, and she delves into post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as an illustration of the fragility of the masculine construction of militarized male identity. The author concludes that soldiers who express feelings of fear and emotional pain associated with PTSD—or "traces of the feminine"—exhibit the very qualities required in missions to keep and create peace (p. 172).

Soldiers may not be the best peacekeepers, as Whitworth contends, but it is hard to imagine ready alternatives. Her analysis makes clear that women soldiers are not the answer since they, too, are inculcated with "militarized masculinity." Nor is it yet clear that gender-mainstreaming strategies are the remedy. The UN's experience in trying to recruit civil police for Kosovo illustrates the difficulties in mobilizing nonmilitary civilian capabilities for peacekeeping missions. Furthermore, the UN can only focus on human security (versus state security) if member states permit it to do so. It has moved in this direction over the last decade with increasing support for the "responsibility to protect" individuals through humanitarian intervention. Yet protecting human security almost inevitably requires enforcement action with the corresponding risks that accompany the presence of soldiers.

Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping does not address these dilemmas directly, but the critical questions it raises enrich the debate over how best to deal with threats to international peace. Scholars interested in these issues, as well as those specifically interested in gender analysis of security-related issues, will find the book of considerable value. Those who want to understand the scope of the problems illumined by the author will, however, regret that the book provides snapshots of particular cases, not systematic analyses of post–Cold War UN peacekeeping operations.

Media and the Path to Peace. By Gadi Wolfsfeld. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 284p. $70.00 cloth, $26.99 paper.

— Marwan M. Kraidy, *American University*

While the role of the mass media during conflict and war has been the subject of numerous studies in the field of mass communications, there is a paucity of research on mass media during peace processes. *Media and the Path to Peace* is an important step in remedying this lack. A study such as this confronts an unfortunate reality: The news media are attracted to war and conflict, while peace processes make for paltry news footage and thus are for the most part undercovered by the news media. Indeed, it is Gadi Wolfsfeld's thesis that news values and peace processes are inherently contradictory.

The book comprises seven chapters in addition to an introduction and conclusion. The first chapter establishes the theoretical framework and the second discusses the preliminary stages of the Oslo peace process between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Chapters 3 to 7 explore media roles in peace processes, with Chapter 3 discussing how the Israeli media affected the debate over the Oslo peace process, Chapter 4 teasing out how the Palestinians related to the Israeli media during Oslo, Chapter 5 looking at the news media in the Israel-Jordan peace process, and Chapter 6 using Northern Ireland as a comparative case study with Israel. Chapter 7 focuses on the collapse of Oslo and the conclusion provides policy recommendations.

The book's structure rests on six central arguments. First, because of the fundamental contradiction just mentioned, the media often have a destructive impact on peace processes. The four dominant news values of immediacy, drama, simplicity, and ethnocentrism are incompatible with drawn-out peace processes. The search for drama leads to sensationalism, while the values of immediacy and simplicity prevent systematic analysis grounded in historical facts. Ethnocentrism is especially detrimental to peace processes whose progress often depends on concessions that require public support, which depends on knowledge of and tolerance of the Other.

Second, the more support a peace process enjoys among the elite, the more likely it is that the media will play a positive role in the peace process. If the elite on each side is divided over the peace process, the news media will

focus on that division and as a result will be distracted from focusing on the peace process itself.

Third, the media's role becomes more negative as crises associated with the peace process increase in frequency and severity. The author convincingly argues that "when things get bad, the news media often make them worse" (p. 30).

Fourth, the media influence a peace process following a politics-media-politics cycle, in which the political environment impacts the media environment, which in turn affects the political environment. This cycle is especially important during political waves, which Wolfsfeld defines as "sudden and significant changes in the political environment that are characterized by a substantial increase in the amount of public attention centered on a major political issue or event" (p. 32). The author demonstrates that the news media amplify political waves and give them structure and direction.

Fifth, the more sensationalistic the news media, the more negative their role in a peace process. For example, the author shows that the melodramatic style that characterizes sensationalistic media presentations has come to pervade the increasingly commercial media environment in Israel. Bottom line and peace concerns are mostly incompatible.

Sixth, the more the news media are shared by the different sides in a peace process, the more positive the role of the news media will be. This is clearly shown in Northern Ireland, where protagonists with a shared language and culture shared media, while linguistic and cultural differences between Arabs and Israelis prevented the sharing of media sources. This is a major reason explaining the positive role of the news media in the quest for peace in Northern Ireland. Shared media tend to mitigate ethnocentrism and foster self-criticism. After unionist militiamen murdered a Catholic workman, for example, the *Belfast Telegraph*—a unionist newspaper—referred to the killers as "terrorists." This trenchant criticism of one's own side is nearly never found in Israeli or Palestinian media.

The author of *Media and the Path to Peace* uses a combination of quantitative content analysis of news media and interviews with journalists, activists, and politicians. The analysis is fair overall, a laudable achievement in view of the highly politicized context of Middle East peace negotiations. Other strong points include an accessible style, a crisp theoretical framework, and attention to the intricate details of peace processes, including a clear chronological rendition of key events.

Missing, however, is a comprehensive analysis of the larger media sphere impinging on peace processes. Descriptions of news outlets, such as *Haaretz* in Israel, *al-Ra'i* in Jordan, and the *Belfast Telegraph* in Northern Ireland, are excessively brief and lack comparison with other media outlets in those countries. The rather general statement that "the Jordanian [media] model is more of a hybrid between a developed and developing state" (p. 140) is not elaborated. Expanding the range of media outlets beyond national newspapers and television would have made the analysis stronger. Notably, the exclusion of transnational media (*Al-Jazeera* gets a mere footnote on p. 110; The "CNN Effect" is acknowledged on p. 13 but not belabored; Hizbollah's *Al-Manar,* influential among Palestinians during crises, is not mentioned) leaves important questions about news media roles in peace processes unanswered.

Despite these issues, perhaps caused by space restrictions, this is a valuable book for scholars and policymakers interested in the role of media in peace processes and, to a lesser extent, in Middle Eastern politics and media. It is only to be hoped that more researchers in political science, mass communications, and Middle East studies will emulate Wolfsfeld and take the road less traveled of researching the less exciting but all the more important role of the mass media in peace processes.

Crude Awakenings: Global Oil Security and American Foreign Policy. By Stephen A. Yetiv. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. 256p. $35.00.

— Øystein Noreng, *BI Norwegian School of Management*

Steve Yetiv's central argument is that oil stability has improved in recent years in the sense that the market is resilient, enjoying a self-reinforcing equilibrium by its ability to deter, mitigate, and contain threats to supplies. The author explicitly distinguishes oil supply stability from oil price stability, as oil prices have become more volatile while supply volumes have stabilized. Implicitly, he argues that price flexibility stabilizes supplies and that the world oil market has become more competitive and less rigid, so that relations between oil exporters and importers have become more pragmatic and less politicized. Attention is on the physical availability of oil: Disruptions are unlikely, not on oil prices or their impact on incomes, inflation rates, and trade balances, but historically, oil has always been available in the world market, at a price. The book would have benefited from a more systematic elaboration of the key argument, early on. He examines the oil market from the perspective of international relations, emphasising the projection of U.S. military power in the Middle East.

The major contribution of the book is to show the connection between concerns about oil supplies and the massive U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf (p. 59 ff.), and perhaps unintentionally that the Iraq War also was about oil (p. 209), besides Israel's security (p. 149). Explicitly recognizing 9/11 as an excuse to take on Iraq (p. 91), the author implicitly confirms that the foreign and energy policies of the United States include the offensive use of war.